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ABSTRACT

This report describes the Summer Transitional Program (STP) at Duke University as analyzed by the principal leadership of the program and by others who participated in its evaluation. The program, initiated in the summer of 1969, was designed to provide academic and social orientation for approximately 40 participants. Evaluation of the 1969, 1970, and 1971 programs is indicated. An interpretation of the program and empirical evaluation and observations indicate the STP is an important social experience for both the participants and the black community at Duke and Durham. Although STP does not appear to be associated with academic performance, results of the attrition study indicate that males who attended STP manifested a significantly higher rate of persistence in college through the third semester than males who did not attend. (MJM)

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The Duke University Summer Transitional Program

Southern Regional Education Board
130 Sixth Street, N.W.
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1973

Foreword

The enrollment of black students at many of the historically white colleges and universities in the South continues to increase. During this period many institutions have inaugurated programs designed to attract and assist these students as they pursue higher educational goals while also attempting to resolve personal concerns as minority group individuals within a white campus setting. Among the programs has been a variety of summer experiences designed to orient these students to the university prior to formal enrollment.

This report describes the Summer Transitional Program at Duke University as analyzed by the principal leadership of the program and by others who participated in its evaluation. The analyses presented by Thomas McCollough and Harold Wallace result from the cooperative direction they provided for the Summer Transitional Program during 1969, 1970, and 1971. Gary W. Peterson conducted the empirical analysis during 1971-72. J. S. Anzalone participated in program evaluation and developed the report for publication.

Appreciation is extended to the EXXON Education Foundation for its support of the Summer Transitional Program and to Duke University for the privilege of having a part in the dissemination of program results. Efforts toward achieving satisfactory institutional response to black students in higher education deserve increased attention and support throughout the region. It is hoped that this report will be informative and useful at other institutions as progress continues.

Winfred L. Godwin, President
Southern Regional Education Board

The Summer Transitional Program: A Description

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Duke University initiated a Summer Transitional Program in the summer of 1969. The experimental program was designed to provide academic and social orientation for approximately forty participants, the majority of them black.

The program was created at the insistence of black students, whose first request for it was in a meeting of black student leaders with university administrators in October, 1968. When asked to identify "areas of concern" to black students, the students stated twelve such areas and took the initiative in proposing solutions. One of the major concerns was the problem of academic and social adjustment within a white university. In response to their recommendation for a summer program designed to strengthen academic skills and ease the social transition, the Universtiy committed itself to such a program in February 1969. Ten days later black students occupied the Administration building in protest of what they felt to be official footdragging over the twelve areas of concern and the refusal of the administration to relinquish control over any of its academic programs.

The university president promised that Duke would provide a summer program in 1969, and the Policy Subcommittee of the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction of the Undergraduate Faculty Council was charged with the responsibility of formulating the plans, in cooperation with the Afro-American Society. By the third week in March the outline of the program and recruitment procedures had been worked out. At that time, the chairman of the Policy Subcommittee was asked by the administration to become director of the program.

The committee found it difficult to specify precise criteria for selection of program participants. Was the program intended primarily to facilitate academic adjustment or social transition? It was early decided by the committee and the representatives of the Afro-American Society that the program should not be confined to black students; whites and blacks would

both benefit by participation. Agreeing that all incoming black students would be invited to participate, the committee then attempted to decide upon what basis whites should be invited. It was concluded that the basic criterion of selection for the program would be "cultural disadvantage." While the committee recognized the term might imply an undesirable value judgment, it appeared to be the most objective and appropriate one available. It would carry the assumption that some students' scores or class standings do not adequately reflect their potential for competent academic performance.

The Admissions Office was asked to indicate those students in particular need of a transition program and, in consultation with the director of the program, selected those to be invited to participate. With the letters of acceptance to Duke sent by the Admissions Office to these students (black and white) were sent letters of invitation to the Summer Transitional Program. A covering letter to the black students from the Afro-American Society was also included.

1969

Students for the program were selected from among those already admitted to Duke as freshmen for the fall of 1969. Nationally, black students have tended to average 100 to 150 points below white students on Scholastic Aptitude Test scores; this applied to Duke. The mean verbal score for the students in the program was 505; for students in all colleges at Duke in 1968-69, it was 629. Thirty-two students had indicated their desire to participate in the program by May 31; they all arrived for the beginning of the program on June 29; and they all completed the program.

The director was able to secure an unusually well-qualified staff. The assistant director was a third-year Divinity School student and a member of Duke's Afro-American Society. The two instructors were recommended by the English and mathematics departments. There were three student advisers, two black undergraduates, male and female, and one white male undergraduate. The director of student mental health served as consultant to the staff and participated in the discussion groups.

In the first three weeks of the program, students took orientation classes in English and mathematics. The letters of invitation to the program had offered the opportunity of taking courses for credit, but after consultation with the instructors, only eleven students elected to do so. Eleven elected to take English 1 and the others all continued in English orientation, which paralleled the credit course in its general format and content. All but two of the students continued in mathematics orientation sessions.

The morning classes followed the summer school schedule. After lunch, three discussion groups met each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, each one led by a junior and senior STP staff member. These meetings were confined to participants in the program, who were free to discuss whatever they wished. Attendance was voluntary. Topics varied with the groups, ranging from the problems of the ghetto to drugs and religion, sometimes generating such interest that the groups continued to talk long past the

hour. On Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, the group met to hear speakers from the campus (student leaders, faculty and administration) and from the larger community. These meetings afforded opportunity for questions and interaction among the participants. Upperclassmen, often several members of the Afro-American Society, contributed to the discussions. The recreational program consisted mainly of activities made available by the athletic department to those enrolled in summer school. There were outings to two state parks, several informal socials, and two plays produced by participants in the program.

Students in the program were furnished—to the extent of their financial need—tuition, fees and books, room and board, and a stipend of $20 per week. The Policy Subcommittee had recognized that participation in the Summer Transitional Program would preclude employment by the students. Since students receiving financial assistance during the regular academic year normally work during the summer in order to contribute toward the cost of their education, the financial aid office made adjustments in aid awards for the freshman year for 29 of the participants in the program.

The first Summer Transitional Program was evaluated on the basis of reports from Dr. John Harris, visiting consultant from the University of Georgia, and from all of the staff members; questionnaires from the participants; and evaluation sessions held by the director with separate groups of black and white participants. There was a strong consensus that the program should be continued, though with some modifications. There was general agreement that the Summer Transitional Program gave the incoming students a realistic understanding of social life and of the high level of academic work requirements at Duke. A positive effect from the shared sense of identity and group solidarity of the black students was evident.

Some of the students claimed that the letters of invitation to the program were "tricky." There were two criticisms: first, that the racial proportions of the constituency of the program were not clear; second, that they were promised one or two credit courses but that most of the participants took no course for credit. Some said that they would not have come if they had known in advance what to expect on one or both counts. However, as a result of the nonspecific description of the racial make-up of the program, the possibility of credit courses and the generous financial provisions, there was a greater number and a more heterogeneous group of participants than would probably have otherwise been the case.

A key factor in the success of the first, and of subsequent programs, was the close working relation of the directors and staff. Creative tension was recognized and accepted and proved to be an important factor in the development of the program.

The Summer Transitional Program was not conceived as a remedial type program. However, the use of the term "culturally disadvantaged" the first year, the fact that a number of black students did have relatively low SAT scores and educational deficiencies in some areas, and the normal tendency of university professors to put strong stress on academic standards, all pointed up the need to clarify as precisely as possible the relation of academic and social goals of the Summer Transitional Program. The

transitional nature of the program had been stressed all along. It was felt that the program should, insofar as possible, introduce the participants to the university as it would be experienced in the fall, while at the same time strengthening their self-confidence, encouraging them to exercise their special talents and skills, and challenging them to build social relationships that would be meaningful to them far beyond the summer.

The Afro-American Society spokesmen were insistent from the beginning that a program like the Summer Transitional Program was needed primarily to orient the black student to a while university and help him make the social adjustment necessary. A member of AAS stated:

> It was the contention of the Afro-American Society that inadequate social adjustment was the main reason for academic failure. The change from predominately black schools and neighborhoods to a campus predominately white, with classrooms, living conditions, and activities white-oriented and controlled, was felt to be too abrupt for some students. The lost sense of identity is made very acute by such circumstances. The search for a black identity in this white and racist community and the awakening of sociopolitical thought greatly impeded academic success.
>
> This program was to enable the black students to experience the biggest thrust of the identity crisis without the overwhelming academic pressures of the academic year. Also, the sense of community they would have with other black students experiencing the same things would help cushion the shock.

Seen in this light, the integral relation of academic and social aspects of the student's experience is of crucial significance.

1970

The second Summer Transitional Program was largely funded through a grant from the EXXON Education Foundation. Modified on the basis of the experience of the first year, it was a five-week noncredit orientation program, offering work in English, mathematics, and reading. Thirty-five students were enrolled, 27 of them black and 8 white (20 men and 15 women).

The 35 students in the program were selected from among those already admitted to Duke as freshmen for the fall of 1970. All black students were invited to participate and a letter from the Afro-American Society was sent to them. Letters of invitation were also sent to 28 incoming white students, eight of whom accepted the invitation. While generally in the lower range of SAT scores, these white students were more sophisticated than the white group of the first year and demonstrated the value of including students with a broad range of backgrounds and interests.

The mean verbal score for the students in the program was 498; for the students in all colleges at Duke in 1969-70, it was 621. The mean mathematics score for the first group was 520, for the second, 649.

The question of the composition of the Summer Transitional Program was decided early in the deliberations of the Policy Subcommittee and the representatives of the Afro-American Society. There was agreement that whites should be included in the program. Both summers, however, the presence of whites in the group made the question of the main thrust of the program both pressing and problematical. All incoming blacks were invited to participate in the program. On what basis should whites be selected? The criterion of "culturally disadvantaged," used the first year, was unsatisfactory, being vague and inappropriate and also offensive. The second year the emphasis was shifted, as indicated by the sentence in the letter of invitation: "This group will include students with a broad range of backgrounds and interests, since it is felt that such variety contributes to social growth." Why were these particular white students chosen? While their college board scores were in the lower range, the prognosis for successful academic work for all of them was good. They, even more than the black participants in some ways, would profit most from the social experience gained in interaction with others in the program. They still might ask, as they did, "Why are we here?"

The 1970 staff was enlarged to include a second English instructor and a black instructor in reading from North Carolina Central University. There were five student advisers, three of them members of the Afro-American Society.

It was anticipated that all students would take English and either mathematics or reading. However, after the first day, 29 students elected to take reading, 33 took mathematics, and all 35 took English. Classes followed the summer school format in schedule and length (1 hour 20 minutes each). There were individual conferences scheduled mostly in the afternoon, and occasional conferences in reading and mathematics.

The afternoon discussion groups consisted of two small-group discussions each week, with one meeting of the entire group to hear visiting speakers from campus and community, one meeting of separate racial groups, and one general meeting for visits to places of interest. The recreational and social activities followed the pattern of the first year.

Student interest in the classroom work stayed at a surprisingly high level during the five weeks, in spite of the fact that most participants elected three rather than the two courses expected. Concern was expressed by the student advisers during the first weeks over a seeming lack of motivation and poor study habits on the part of many of the students. The instructors were less anxious about this, considering that the program was voluntary, noncredit, and mid-summer, with the participants enjoying, as one instructor put it, "a strenuous social life." As time went on, it was discovered that though there was noise in the dorms and late hours were the rule, most of the students did their work and many made marked progress. The advisers felt that those who did not apply themselves to their studies were at least aware of the problem.

The group was both lower-keyed and less cohesive than that of the preceding year. The women seemed to divide into a "study group" and a "party group," but with ample interaction between them. The men ranged from "jivers" to "scholars," the first gregarious, though tending to form an

in-group, the second inclining to be loners. Three of the white women and the four white men became good friends. The advisers felt that the separate racial groupings were not due to prejudice; there were good relations and some personal friendships between whites and blacks. The mathematics instructor has commented: "This year's students evidenced none of the racial tensions and divisions that were present last year. The entire group seemed to get along very well and with few exceptions their classroom conduct was as good if not better than encountered in the fall term." The principle governing social relations seemed to be, in the words of a student adviser, "an understanding that blacks and whites cooperate and work together but respect certain boundaries, at least for now."

In a group discussion during the fourth week of the session, however, the blacks, (upperclassmen, participants and staff members) declared that white liberals were of little or no help in the black movement, that whites were bound to be identified with the socioeconomic power structures and incapable of understanding the black experience, and that the possibilities of real communication between the races were lacking. The question for black people was that of power and self-determination. The discussion continued over the next days, and an English instructor reported in a staff meeting his depression after proposing to the class that: "What men have in common is more important than what divides them," and finding that not one black student agreed. Apart from the personal feelings evoked, these discussions confronted the whites with the question of how to justify white participation in the Summer Transitional Program. It also, of course, faced the blacks with the question of how to justify black presence in a white university. While the participation of a minority of whites in the program posed problems for both racial groups, it seemed to be an important and essential aspect of the Summer Transitional Program.

On the questionnaire to Summer Transitional Program participants, a number of black students answered the question "How the Summer Transitional Program affected my attitudes about Duke" with "negatively." But some of these answered a subsequent question with "the Summer Transitional Program increased enthusiasm for college." This ambiguous response seemed to reflect both an increased awareness of the sober realities, shortcomings and limitations of Duke University, and also the belief that there were genuine and worthwhile opportunities for personal growth and development and community life here.

1971

The third Summer Transitional Program was, in several respects, a synthesis of the first two. A six week orientation program, it offered one-half credit for courses in English, mathematics, and a seminar in social problems. All students accepted by Duke University and enrolled as freshmen for September, 1971, received an invitation to apply to the Summer Transitional Program, with the explicit statement that all incoming black freshmen who applied to the Summer Transitional Program would be accepted and that a number of white participants, approximately one-third

of the total group, would be selected from among the white applicantss.

Of the 32 participants enrolling in the Summer Transitional Program in 1971, 22 were black (12 men, 10 women) and 10 white (8 men, 2 women). All who applied were accepted. For participants in the Summer Transitional Program, the mean SAT verbal score was 568; for students in all undergraduate colleges at Duke in 1970-71, it was 614. The mean SAT mathematics score for the former was 531, for the latter, it was 644.

The leadership of the 1971 program consisted of the black and white co-directors; the mathematics and English instructors who had taught the previous year; a black historian, who offered a seminar in social problems; and the senior counselor in the Duke University counseling center, who served as director of evaluation. The four student advisers again participated in the discussion groups, lived with the students, and provided help in tutoring, recreation and social life.

Since most of the students elected to take all three courses, the schedule was changed from daily class sessions to the schedule of the regular academic year. While this meant a decrease in class time, it also meant improved student preparation and participation. One of the English instructors reported that the students "were much more alert in class this year than last, and the fact that they had more time outside of class to write their papers and to complete the reading assignments and exercises was reflected in an increase in the quality of their work." Each English instructor worked with 16 students during three hours of classroom time and spent twenty minutes in individual conferences each week. The other classes were about the same size.

Small discussion groups met three times each week and meetings of the entire group, including staff members and often upperclassmen, were held twice each week. These general sessions presented opportunities for discussions with students, administrators and faculty from Duke University and with visitors from Durham and Chapel Hill. The living arrangements, social life and recreational activities were similar to those of previous summers. Again, the costs of tuition, fees and books, and room and board were paid by the Summer Transitional Program, including a weekly stipend of ten dollars.

Summary

Duke University was the fortunate recipient of another grant from the EXXON Education Foundation which included a provision for an evaluation of the program and publication of the results. Each summer outside consultants spent a day or more on campus during the program, talking with staff and participants. A comprehensive evaluation of the first three years of the Summer Transitional Program was undertaken in 1971, with consultants from the Southern Regional Education Board and the University of Georgia. The co-directors and director of evaluation spent Friday mornings during the fall semester evaluating the program and formulating proposals for its future.

The objectives of the Summer Transitional Program have been under-

stood from the beginning as twofold: academic and social. In the three annual reports, the nonremedial nature of the program was made explicit. At the same time, it was recognized that Duke does accept, though not as a matter of official policy, students who might be called "high-risk." Their SAT scores are significantly lower than most other Duke students and they are accepted for reasons other than their SAT scores. Relative to the scores obtained by most other students and to the academic standards, procedures and conventions at Duke, they are high-risk in terms of probable level of achievement in the first two years and in terms of the attrition rate to be expected.

A central question in the evaluation of the program and the possible expansion or modifications of it was whether the Summer Transitional Program should be defined primarily in *academic-individual* or in *social-group* terms. Is it a program for academically disadvantaged students both black and white or is it a program for black students primarily?

The major problem with a definition of the program in *academic* terms is the stigmatization of the participants as academically inferior, which is difficult to prevent. In spite of efforts to avoid misunderstanding at this point, the Admissions Office has received some negative reactions to the invitations to entering black students to participate in the Summer Transitional Program because of the inference that those invited must be considered academically inferior. There is a question as to whether participants in a special academic program which inevitably would constitute a kind of streaming or tracking program would voluntarily opt for it, even if there were the prospect of improving oneself academically. Black students, in seeking the establishment of the Summer Transitional Program, said that many black students had discovered only too late the seriousness of their academic problems; they felt that an academic experience of the kind envisioned in an intensive program just prior to the freshman year would acquaint them with the problems to be encountered in time to make an adjustment without other pressures during the school year.

The experience of students and staff suggests that entering black students who have been regularly admitted to Duke do not feel that they need or should have a remedial type program. To demonstrate the need for a specialized academic program to those with the lowest test scores would not be easy and might not be desirable; it would divide the group of black students itself into those who "have it" and those who don't.

The greatest success of the Summer Transitional Program has been in the *social* dimension of the program. Progress toward the objective of improved academic skills and achievement has been facilitated by the support and encouragement of the group. On the basis of the express statements of black students prior to the Summer Transitional Program and the experience of staff and participants since, it is clear that if those black students who have need of specialized academic help are to recognize their need and take advantage of the resources available, they will most likely do so not on the basis of professionally administered tests and counseling alone, but as a result of meaningful interaction with significant persons in a continuing social and academic experience.

To be transitional, the program must introduce the participants to the

reality of university life. The black staff members and much of the content of the program emphasize the distinctive experience of black students as a minority group in a way that increases the self-confidence and enhances the self-image of the black participants. The participation of white students and staff is necessary if university life is to be realistically represented. The majority of black students in the program become a part of a social group that will support and strengthen them through their undergraduate years. The white students have the rare opportunity of discovering how it feels to be in the minority. Both black and white students begin to live and learn together in a way that will, hopefully, contribute to their own growth and to the fostering of a more open, understanding and concerned university community in the years ahead.

Three Years of the Summer Transitional Program: An Interpretation

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Any attempt to interpret data collected from an intensive evaluation of the Duke University Summer Transitional Program over a three year period must be qualified by the perspectives of those who participated in the program as well as by the perspectives of those who worked closely with the student participants. Similarly, any interpretation of the program must of necessity be guided by the original intent of the program. I must agree with the director of the first STP at Duke when he commented that "one's evaluation of the success of the program is a function to a considerable degree of what he conceives its primary goals to be." The purpose here is to present an interpretation of the Summer Transitional Program from the perspectives of the black students who participated in the three programs and members of the Duke University community who worked closely with them. A secondary purpose is to explore the implications that such an interpretation provides for an expanded program of supportive services for the black student.

In October, 1968, the Afro-American Society (presently called the Association of African Students) presented the original concept of a summer program which would foster academic and social adjustment to the university for black freshmen prior to their enrollment in the regular academic year. The AAS had recognized for some time that black students were operating at a disadvantage in an institution which was predominantly white—with classrooms, living conditions, and activities white-oriented and controlled. The organization believed that a summer program could introduce black students to the realities of a white institution by dealing with the academic and social structures of that institution. Duke University committed itself to this concept in February of 1969. The AAS and the Policy Subcommittee of the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction of the Undergraduate Faculty Council worked together to develop the concept of a summer orientation program into an operational construct.

The AAS and the Policy Subcommittee reached a general agreement

that the Summer Transitional Program should have as its primary goal the fostering of social and academic adjustment to Duke University for black freshmen and a number of white freshmen. There is some background information that must be considered if one is to appreciate the general agreement that the AAS was willing to make about the primary goal of the program.

Prior to the fall semester of 1968, the AAS had recognized the adjustment problems of black students. However, the factor which motivated the AAS to aggressively seek the implementation of a summer program was the very high percentage of black students that failed academically in the fall semester of 1968. The AAS was greatly disturbed by the high attrition rate for black students and a spokesman put forth the position that inadequate social adjustment was the main reason for the high percentage of academic failures. However, the AAS felt that it was not solely the responsibility of the black student to make an adequate social adjustment. Duke University would have to act through programmatic means to aid black students in adjusting and surviving in what the AAS termed "a white and racist community." The AAS was placing particular importance on the need for an adequate social adjustment which would facilitate academic adjustment. Therefore, the intent of the program was to provide a summer experience that would give social and academic orientation to Duke University. Specifically, the program would attempt to decrease the high attrition rate among black students by raising the level of academic performance and introducing the students to the social structures at Duke at a very early date in order to allow adequate time for some adjustment.

Two very significant points must be raised to caution quick conclusions about the original intent of the program and its effectiveness. One point is that neither the AAS nor the Policy Subcommittee expected one summer orientation experience to completely erase long years of inadequate educational experiences many participants brought to the program. No program can accomplish in a period of weeks what was not accomplished in twelve years. This is not to suggest that the participants had inferior educational experiences. Rather, I am suggesting that they had different educational experiences that did not equip them to deal adequately with the Duke environment. The educational experiences were not inferior but were different and inadequate to handle the demands of an institution which is oriented toward a white and middle class culture. At best, the Summer Transitional Program could sharpen some academic skills and introduce the participants to the classroom setting at Duke; but very few skills could be developed in a few weeks. Therefore, one would expect to increase the odds that a STP participant could raise the level of his academic performance during the regular academic year: but to expect that all or a considerable number would be earning A or B averages is to expect too much.

Another significant point is that the implementation of a summer program still places the burden of adjustment on the student although the university is aiding the student through programmatic means. Little is done to radically change the university so that it can adjust to the enrollment of black and other minority students. For one to assume that the implementation of pre-college programs will be a once and for all answer to the

problems of black and minority students is to assume that nothing must be done to change the university. The university will remain the same and it is the task of the student to adjust to its rigid structures with some aid from the pre-college program. Pre-college programs are part of the answer, but ways must be identified to alter the university so that it can adjust to a pluralistic student body. These two points must be kept in mind as one considers the effectiveness of the Duke University Summer Transitional Program.

Looking beyond what one might be able to objectively conclude about the significance of the STP experience, there is still some evidence that it has had some real impact on the lives of the participants. A number of faculty members, deans, administrators, and students have stated that they have observed differences between the STP students and those who did not attend the STP. One dean commented that the "Summer Transitional Program . . . and the Afro-American Society markedly increased their (the STP students) self-confidence and enriched the social and intellectual life of these students." Another dean reported that "the much lower attrition rate among those who have attended the Summer Transitional Program is the most significant measure of its success. The program seems to have been successful in giving its participants a sense of belonging and a spirit of group solidarity which undergirds their academic efforts. It has also given them a sense of close relationship with people in the Duke community who are ready to assist them, . . ." It is significant that these statements are made by persons who work closely with the STP participants and are therefore in a position to make some judgments and comparisons.

While the observations and judgments of administrators, deans, and faculty are valid for our consideration, the experiences and opinions of the students are essential for an interpretation of the program. As early as the first week of the initial STP in 1969, AAS members enrolled in the regular summer school were advancing their own thoughts about the structure and operation of the program. The AAS members regularly participated in the activities of the STP and therefore believed that they had some insights into the functioning of the STP. They felt that there was too much emphasis on the academic dimension of the program and that the overall program lacked real definition and structure. One could argue that they were definitely wrong in their opinion, but it must be pointed out that their opinions appeared more valid to the STP participants than the opinions of the STP staff. And, it must be added, there was some validity in their arguments which the staff had to consider in future program planning.

Aside from the constructive criticisms, the members of the AAS believed that the STP was very beneficial for the participants. The planners had developed a program that followed closely the outline proposed by the AAS and the fact that the university established the STP suggested some type of commitment to black students. The AAS was convinced that it was an achievement in itself to bring a number of black freshmen together in one community for orientation purposes. What was not accomplished under program structures would be done by the AAS through its involvement with the STP participants.

The STP participants also formed some definite opinions about their

summer experiences and one should expect to find varying degrees of enthusiasm for the STP. A number of the participants were convinced that the program was very effective because it afforded them an opportunity to orient themselves to the Duke campus, the classroom, and the Durham community. A contrasting opinion was held by a few students who viewed the program as remedial in nature and therefore unnecessary for them personally. But students who held this opinion still maintained that they benefitted from contact and friendship with upperclassmen. There were mixed feelings about the effectiveness of the program in general, but no student felt that the program was a complete failure.

While these observations are related to the first program in 1969, similar statements could be made about the participants' opinions during the succeeding programs. Evaluations written by the participants after each program have supported the program concept and have judged it generally successful. The creative tension that has always existed between the STP staff and the AAS students and STP participants has greatly aided in the development of the program. While a willingness to listen and respond to constructive criticism does not provide for the smoothest operation of a program it enables a program to develop into the best operational model by taking advantage of the experiences of those most affected by the program. The Duke STP recognized the value of constructive criticism in 1969 and has utilized the data collected from students, staff, and consultant evaluations to modify the program each year. A careful study of the annual reports will show that the academic and social dimensions of the program have been modified after serious study of several evaluations.

However, one of the most fundamental and perhaps disturbing realizations with which the staff has contended is the fact that we could not accomplish in a brief pre-college program what needs to be done to make a predominantly white university supportive of the black student population. The STP staff, participants, the AAS and our consultants have continually pointed to this fact. With the most ideal pre-college program, it is still the student who must make the adjustments although the university is aiding the student through programmatic means. Some radically new attempts must be made to change or modify university structures to allow the university to adjust to its changing student population. Two major attempts have been proposed at Duke University to accomplish this task.

One attempt was to extend the essential features of the summer program into the regular academic year through what we called the Academic Assistance Program. In this program, *all* freshman students entering Duke University each fall would have the option of taking a reduced course load (the normal load is 4 full courses) and engaging in individualized learning sessions, regular tutoring sessions when needed, and racially mixed discussion and social groups. The program would be primarily defined and designed around the experiences of black students at Duke University, but would be open to all students at Duke. For instance, a student might take advantage of the course load option without participating in the other activities. The program would have its coherence and effectiveness in its identity, with the natural opportunities inherent in a social support system.

This kind of effort would involve expanded staff for recruitment (with

personalized interpretation of the program to prospective and entering black freshmen), counseling and guidance, instruction, and social activities. An outline of the essential features of the proposed program includes:

The Reduced Course Load. Freshmen will be allowed to take a minimum of three courses each semester during their first year at Duke University. This option will give the student who needs tutoring and individualized learning techniques more time to devote to these efforts.

Regular Tutoring. A number of students (approximately 8, the 4 student advisors from the summer orientation session plus 4 others), who have demonstrated special competence will be available for tutoring on a regular basis. Tutoring sessions will be arranged by appointments and each tutor will be allowed to work 9 hours per week.

Counseling and Guidance. The Advisor to Black Students will continue to provide much of the personal and academic counseling. When more intensive counseling is needed, the Counseling Center at Duke will be utilized. Every effort will be made to aid students in understanding and evaluating their potentialities and limitations, in discovering and developing ways of working out their problems, and in taking advantage of their opportunities.

Discussion and Social Groups. Discussion groups will be continued into the regular academic year in order to provide a forum for discussing problems and issues that the participants might want to raise and to provide a small supportive group that allows real personal involvement. Several social activities will be provided during the school year to realize the same objective mentioned above.

Recruitment. Participants for the program will have to be recruited from the freshman class. However, the program might also act as a recruiter for the University because it could influence the decision of the prospective student. It is necessary, therefore, to contact the prospective student early and maintain contact with him. An additional person will be needed to aid the Director of the program and the Minority Admissions Counselor in a well-coordinated program of recruitment. This person will perform some additonal tasks which are mentioned below.

The Administering and Coordinating of the Program. The Director will have primary responsibility for administering and coordinating the Academic Assistance program. He will be responsible for recruiting students into the program and therefore will aid the admissions office in the overall recruitment effort. He will establish the tutoring services, the discussion and social groups' activities, and the counseling and guidance services, and supervise the functioning of all services. Many of the activities of the program will require the Director's participation. An additional staff member will be needed to aid the Director in these tasks.

This brief outline demonstrates the direction which we think an extended summer program should take in providing supportive services into the regular academic year where social and academic adjustment really counts.

The second major proposal, presently being implemented, is for the creation and staffing of a new and comprehensive office designated the Office of Black Affairs. The creation of the OBA is an attempt to provide

an organizational structure through which the present offices and programs that deal with black student needs (Summer Transitional Program, Black Studies Program, Minority Recruitment and Admissions, and the Office of the Black Student Advisor) and those newly proposed offices and programs (Community Relations, Research Services and Job Placement, and Graduate Assistance) can function with a greater degree of effectiveness. An administrative officer, the Dean of Black Affairs, will have primary responsibility for coordinating those activities and offices which attempt to respond to some particular need or needs of black students. This officer will develop the various offices proposed along lines agreed upon by Duke administrators and black student representatives and will be responsible for defining and staffing the positions needed. He will oversee the development of budgets for all of the offices and will insure the continuing development of all programs coming out of these offices. And he will be the primary spokesman for the complex educational needs of black students and will work to insure an environment which is conducive to the growth of the black student as scholar and person.

This second major proposal attempts to incorporate the essential features of the first major proposal into an organizational structure that is part of the undergraduate administrative structure. Rather than implementing the Academic Assistance Program, which would not have any real permanency, the creation of the OBA would insure the existence of a programmatic approach to problem solving. The pre-college programs and academic assistance programs could come and go, but the OBA would remain to continually define and implement programs to meet the needs of black students. And aside from questions of efficiency and permanency, there is the question of legitimacy. The OBA would suggest a real commitment to long term solutions to the problems of the black student population rather than a series of unrelated programs. The implementation of the OBA can do much to allay the fears that programs primarily designed for black students are mere concessions to the times with little or no legitimacy beyond a few experimental years. The members of the AAS worked with Duke University administrators in order to implement a proposal that honestly addressed the questions of efficiency, permanency, and legitimacy.

Conclusion

Pre-college programs represent one among many programmatic approaches to the complex needs of black students in a predominantly white university. Within the limited goals and objectives of the Duke Summer Transitional Program, it must be judged successful in terms of what it has done to aid in reducing the attrition rate of black students, raising the level of performance academically, and providing a supportive system. In addition to these accomplishments, the Duke STP has yielded sufficient data upon which new decisions can be made about the present and future directions of programs primarily designed for black and minority students. The matter of adequate adjustments must be put to the individual black student and the university as well. In a real sense, the duality of adjust-

ments is the significant lesson learned from the experiment at Duke. Duke and other colleges and universities must recognize and ultimately accept their responsibility to modify their structures in order to adjust to the relatively new presence of black and other minority students.

The Office of Black Affairs at Duke University has only been partially implemented at this date, but early indications are that it can be successful if strong support is given by Duke's administration and more importantly by the black student population at Duke. The concept of the office is grounded in the knowledge and experiences gained from the STP and it is a logical expansion of supportive services that should have been in existence when Duke opened its doors to black students. Not being able to change the past, Duke can move ahead to realize its goal of providing quality education to all students.

Empirical Evaluation of the Summer Transitional Program

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The Summer Transitional Program (STP) was initiated in the summer of 1969 to assist incoming black freshmen in academic and social adjustment to the Duke environment at the request of the black students of Duke University. The STP included academic instruction in English, mathematics, and social science. Accompanying activities included group discussions held for the expression of attitudes and feelings about inception of their academic careers, discussions with prominent campus and community leaders and a diverse social and athletic program.

For purposes of the present analysis, academic and social adjustment were operationally defined in terms of academic performance and attrition rate. The major emphasis of activity in an institution of higher education was assumed to be the promotion of academic productivity. The aspect of successful social adjustment is thus presumed to facilitate the academic efforts of the student. However, because of the small population sample and the inaccuracy of measurement in the area of social adjustment no attempt was made to evaluate the progress in this dimension directly or its relative impact on academic performance.

The general hypotheses of the present study were: 1) that the academic performance measured in terms of grade point average of STP participants was significantly higher than the performance of non-participants and 2) that the attrition rate for participants was significantly lower for STP participants than for non-participants.

METHODOLOGY

The population consisted of black students who matriculated as freshmen in the fall semesters of 1965 through 1971. Names of black students were obtained from the office of the Assistant Dean of Undergraduate Instruction: Advisor to Black Students. The list represented ostensibly the

most complete list of black students gathered on the Duke campus to date. The possibility does exist that some black students may have been omitted from the analysis particularly for the freshman classes matriculating prior to 1969. Transfers and foreign students who were black were excluded because it was reasoned that with respect to the former group, prior academic training would intervene in such a way as to possibly negate them as a valid comparison population, and obvious cultural differences would abrogate the latter as a justifiable comparison group. The several white students who attended the STP were also omitted from the analysis.

Grade point average per semester was determined prior to the fall of 1969 by multiplying the course credit hours by the grade point value (F=0, D—=.7, D=1.0, D+=1.3, C—=1.7, C=2.0, C+=2.3, B—=2.7, B=3.0, B+=3.3, A—=3.7, A=4.0) and dividing by the total course hours enrolled. Subsequently with the dropping of the concept of course credit hours in the fall of 1969, the grade point average was derived by summing individual grade points assigned to each course and dividing by the number of courses enrolled. Also effective in the fall of 1970, the D—, D, and D+ grades were eliminated as indicators of academic performance. Nevertheless, grade point averages were derived by the same method as the previous years. The grade point values assigned to courses remained the same, i.e. F=0, C—=1.7, C=2.0, etc. Courses in which pass-fail grades were earned, grades earned in physical education classes, and incomplete grades which remained outstanding were not computed in semester grade point averages.

Three comparison groups were used in the analysis of the data: the STP group, blacks who elected to attend the STP program (31 males and 35 females); the Non-STP group, blacks who were invited to attend the STP but chose not to (22 males and 24 females); and finally the Pre-STP group, blacks who matriculated prior to the fall of 1969 (46 males and 21 females). Obviously experimental control groups would have been desirable to affirm conclusive evidence about the effects of the program, but this was not possible. Nevertheless statistical controls were employed to equate differences in academic aptitude and "motivation" among treatment groups. Males and females were analyzed separately, to determine whether the STP program demonstrated differential effects in academic performance as a function of sex.

The analyses of criteria measures were examined at four stages relative to the time of participation in the STP. The first analyses, internal criteria, included assessments of growth in mathematics and English skills during the program. Only the 1971 group was employed in this evaluation. The second evaluation compared performance in English courses, math courses and grade point average (GPA) among the treatment groups after the first semester. The third stage contrasted grade point average (GPA) after the first year. The final analysis compared rate of persistence in college through the third semester among the treatment groups.

THE RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

Stage 1. Internal Criteria

English and mathematics classes composed an essential core of activity in the STP. The English course was primarily a reading and composition course while the math course dealt mainly with exercises in second year high school algebra. All 32 participants of the STP, both black and white, took the English course for at least several weeks. The mathematics course was offered as an elective. Fourteen black students and eight white students elected to take the math course.

The ETS COOP English Tests of Reading Comprehension, Forms 1A and 1B, and English Expressions, Forms 1A and 1B, were administered on the first and last days of the STP in 1971 to assess possible changes in verbal skills associated with participation in the program. Two forms were used to control for changes which may arise from familiarity with test items. Dimensions of verbal skills assessed were vocabulary, reading comprehension, reading speed, total reading (summation of vocabulary, comprehension and speed), English expression and total English (summation of total reading and expression). In spite of modest sub-test reliabilities, these tests were chosen because the test is easily administered and could (perhaps) provide an indication of growth among a variety of verbal skills.

The results of the analyses presented in Table 1 indicated that there were no significant differences between the pre-test and post-test scores of any of the verbal skills assessed by these instruments. Thus growth in verbal skills during the programs appeared to be negligible.

Two forms of the CEEB Math Level I Achievement Test were also employed in a pre-test-post-test design in the 1971 program. The math tests

TABLE 1

Pre-Post Test Mean Scores for COOP Reading and English Expression Tests of 1971 STP Black Participants

Test	Males n - 12			Females n - 10		
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Diff.[a]	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Diff.[a]
Vocabulary	160	159	−1	163	164	+1
Reading Comprehension	163	162	−1	161	160	−1
Reading Speed	160	160	0	161	159	−2
Total Reading	161	159	−2	161	162	+1
English Expression	155	158	+3	162	162	0
Total English	159	158	−1	162	162	0

[a] No differences in means were statistically significant.

were administered following the English tests on both testing days. The results of the analysis, presented in Table 2, indicated that the black male math group and the white male math group earned significantly higher scores on the post-test than on the pre-test. Those groups who did not elect to take the math course did not earn significantly higher post-test scores when compared to the pre-test performance. One can note from Table 2 that there was a general growth trend in all groups.

Caution, however, must be exercised while interpreting the results of this analysis without adequate control groups. The difference in "growth" between those males who elected to take math and those males who did not could perhaps be attributed to motivational factors and previous learning experiences. It can be noted that the pre-test Math Level I scores of males who elected to take the math course were higher than the males who did not take the course.

TABLE 2

Pre-Post Test Math Level I
STP Program 1971

Group	n	Pre-Test June m	Post-Test July m	Diff. m	t	SATM m	SATV m
Black Male Math	9	514	565	+51	4.37**	534	529
Black Male Non-Math	3	439	472	+33	1.44	475	486
Black Female Math	5	481	505	+24	1.56	499	496
Black Female Non-Math	5	492	520	+28	1.71	509	526
White Male Math	8	598	649	+51	5.24**	630	623
White Male Non-Math	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
White Female Math	1	524	602	+78	–	507	680
White Female Non-Math	1	466	475	+11	–	433	556
Total Math	23	536	582	+46	6.77**	559	563
Total Non-Math	9	472	499	+27	2.47	489	516
Total	32	518	559	+41	6.91**	539	549

**$p < .01$

If one of the tacit aims of the STP is compensatory instruction, there is a suggestion that some steps in this direction are made in the realm of mathematics skills. If this growth in math skills as a result of the STP math course is real (i.e. not due to intervening factors), difference between growth in math skills and the apparent lack of growth in verbal skills may be explained by the specialized, objective and precise nature of these skills. Math skills therefore may be more amenable to improvement over the course of a five-week program than the diverse, subjective, and unreliable nature of English expression and composition which presumably require

more time for noticeable improvement. Hopefully in English, however, certain other skills and information would be derived from the STP academic experiences such as how to organize a good paper, how to study for a test, expected performance levels, etc. which would be advantageous to participants in the fall. Remaining analyses determine the extent of transfer and generalization to actual course work.

Stage 2. Fall Semester Grades

One of the intentions of establishing the STP was to mitigate the deleterious effects of culture shock and to facilitate a more rapid adjustment to the Duke environment. If this is the case, STP participants would be expected to possess an advantage in the first semester of coursework over those who elected not to attend. This advantage should be manifested in higher performance in English classes, mathematics classes and in GPA.

Verbal skills, mathematics skills and high school rank (which may be interpreted as an indication of motivation) have been commonly associated with academic performance (or their interaction). Covariance technique was used to equate their effects among the treatment groups. Thus, in Tables 3 through 6 the *obtained mean* is the actual average grade earned by a treatment group while the *adjusted mean* is the average grade a group would have earned if all groups possessed the same degree of academic skills (SATV, SATM) and "motivation" (high school rank, HSR). Males and females were analyzed separately.

In some cases, the numbers in the treatment groups in the tables are a few less than numbers previously stated in the description of the population. This was due to the fact that the computer program (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences at Triangle University Computation Center) requires complete data. Thus if information regarding any of the covariates was unavailable or if a subject withdrew during the first semester, he would have been omitted from the analyses. Therefore, given the limitations of small group numbers and the unavoidability of some incomplete data, the results of these analyses must be interpreted with caution. The numbers of omissions by group were as follows: STP male (2); Non STP male (0); Pre STP male (5); STP female (5); Non STP female (3); and Pre STP female (1).

The results of the analyses comparing grade point average (GPA) among the treatment groups are presented in Table 3. There was no significant difference in first semester academic performance (GPA) among the male groups while there was a significant difference in GPA among the female groups when academic ability and motivation were equated. There was no significant difference between those who elected to attend the STP (STP group) and those who chose not to attend (Non STP group) in both males and females. There were significant differences between the Pre STP females and both the STP and Non STP groups. Thus for females, the existence of but not participation in STP is associated with higher academic performance.

The English composition class in STP was taken by all STP participants. The course was designed to prepare students for the basic freshman English requirement.

TABLE 3

Covariance Analysis Comparing First Semester Grade Point Averages with SATV, SATM, and High School Class Rank as Covariates

Males

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem. G.P.A.	Adjusted G.P.A	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-71)	**29**	**1.95**	**2.03**		**490**	**527**	**.85**
NONSTP (1969-71)	**22**	**1.83**	**1.84**	**.83**	**499**	**562**	**.87**
PRESTP (1965-68)	**41**	**1.85**	**1.79**		**510**	**547**	**.93**

Females

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem G.P.A.	Adjusted G.P.A.	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-71	**30**	**2.26**	**2.30**		**514**	**517**	**.95**
NONSTP (1969-71)	**21**	**2.35**	**2.35**	**5.65****	**535**	**533**	**.86**
PRESTP (1965-68)	**20**	**1.92**	**1.84**		**562**	**520**	**.98**

$^{**}p < .01$.

The results of the analyses of the data comparing the first semester grades in freshman English classes presented in Table 4 indicated that there were no significant differences in English performance among black male groups while there were significant differences in performance among black female groups. As with the analysis of GPA, there was no difference in performance between those females who elected to participate in STP and those who opted not to attend (Non STP group), but there were significant differences between Pre STP and both the STP and Non STP groups respectively. Again for females the existence of but not participation in STP is associated with higher English grades.

The STP mathematics course allows participants an opportunity either to review high school algebra they have already had or to become acquainted with material to which they have not already been exposed. The results of Table 2 suggested that a certain amount of growth in math skills does take place during the program. The results of the analyses of the data comparing performance in freshman mathematics classes are presented in Table 5. The results indicated that there are no differences in academic

performance among either male or female treatment groups when academic aptitude and "motivation" are equated. Therefore there is no significant relationship between participation in or the existence of the STP and first semester grades in freshman math. It was observed that only students who took the STP math course went on to take freshman math. Thus all members of the STP math groups underwent math instruction during the STP.

Evidence, as demonstrated by the results of the analyses of the data of performance criteria after the first semester, indicated that participation in the STP is not associated with increased academic performance for either males or females. The data also suggest that in recent years, the ambient influences have become more conducive for higher academic performance during the first semester for black females but not for the black males. In order to avoid speculations tangential to the main topic, the myriad of economic, social, political, cultural, and sexual factors which may account for this phenomenon are omitted.

TABLE 4

Covariance Analysis Comparing First Semester English Grades with SATV, SATM, and High School Class Rank as Covariates

Males

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem. English Grade	Adjusted English Grade	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-1971)	**29**	**2.04**	**2.07**		**490**	**527**	**.85**
NONSTP (1969-1971)	**21**	**1.99**	**2.07**	**.04**	**510**	**568**	**.88**
PRESTP (1965-1968)	**41**	**2.18**	**2.12**		**511**	**547**	**.93**

Females

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem. English Grade	Adjusted English Grade	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-1971)	**30**	**2.49**	**2.55**		**514**	**517**	**.95**
NONSTP (1969-1971)	**20**	**2.46**	**2.44**	**3.55***	**541**	**539**	**.86**
PRESTP (1965-1968)	**20**	**2.24**	**2.17**		**562**	**520**	**.98**

*$p < .05$.

Stage 3. First Year Grades

Freshman grades offer an indication of how well students adapt to college in their first year. First year grade point averages were derived by averaging the first semester GPA and second semester GPA. As in the previous analyses of first semester grades, covariance was used to equate the possible effects of academic aptitude and "motivation." One STP male and three Non STP males who dropped out of school after the first semester were omitted from the first year analyses. There were no dropouts among the females. The results of the analyses of the data are shown in Table 6.

An additional table is presented in this section to note Trinity College academic performance, the men's liberal arts school, and Women's College academic performance, the women's liberal arts school. Two years, 1967 and 1970, were chosen to represent mid years in the treatment groups. These data were obtained from the Duke University Registrar's Office and Admissions Office. Table 7 provides information with which to compare the academic performance of black students and Duke University students in general. A general "grade inflation" is noted in this table over the last few years.

TABLE 5

Covariance Analysis Comparing First Semester Math Grades with SATV, SATM, and High School Class Rank as Covariates

Males

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem. Math Grade	Adjusted Math Grade	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-71)	**20**	**1.86**	**1.89**		**485**	**548**	**.86**
NONSTP (1969-71)	**16**	**1.52**	**1.53**	**.98**	**513**	**588**	**.90**
PRESTP (1965-68)	**36**	**1.43**	**1.40**		**502**	**549**	**.93**

Females

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem. Math Grade	Adjusted Math Grade	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-71)	**16**	**1.74**	**1.74**		**524**	**533**	**.96**
NONSTP (1969-71)	**14**	**2.08**	**2.14**	**1.19**	**555**	**563**	**.87**
PRESTP (1965-68)	**12**	**1.72**	**1.64**		**570**	**554**	**.98**

TABLE 6

Covariance Analysis Comparing First Year Grades with SATV, SATM, and High School Class Rank as Covariates

Males

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem. G.P.A.	Adjusted G.P.A.	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-71)	**28**	**2.16**	**2.24**		**491**	**523**	**.85**
NONSTP (1969-71)	**19**	**2.15**	**2.17**	**3.39***	**509**	**570**	**.87**
PRESTP (1965-68)	**41**	**1.91**	**1.84**		**511**	**547**	**.93**

Females

Group	n	Obtained 1st Sem. G.P.A.	Adjusted G.P.A.	F	Covariates		
					SATV	SATM	HSR
STP (1969-71)	**30**	**2.27**	**2.30**		**514**	**517**	**.95**
NONSTP (1969-71)	**21**	**2.35**	**2.38**	**6.47****	**535**	**533**	**.86**
PRESTP (1965-68)	**20**	**2.01**	**1.92**		**562**	**520**	**.98**

*$< .05$.
**$p < .01$.

The results of the analyses of the data presented in Table 6 indicated that there is no significant difference in freshman year performance when academic aptitude and "motivation" were equated between those who elected to attend the STP and those who did not (Non STP group) regardless of sex. For both males and females, the STP and Non STP groups earned significantly higher grades than the Pre STP group. This general rise in freshman performance for black students parallels a rise in freshman performance for both Trinity and Women's Colleges over the same time period. All groups of whites and blacks earned .25 to .35 grade-points higher in 1970 than in 1967. Therefore the total college ambience affecting freshman class performance appears to be racially nonbiased.

The reason why both STP and Non STP males earned significantly higher grades than the Pre STP group in freshman year performance (Table 6) while there was no significant difference between male groups after the first semester (Table 3) can perhaps be explained by the fact that there were three academic dropouts from the Non STP group after the first semester.

TABLE 7

Trinity College and Woman's College Freshman Year Performance

Group	n	G.P.A.	SATV	SATM	HSR
Trinity (1967)	666	2.41	627	667	.86
Trinity (1970)	671	2.73	620	661	.84
Women's College (1967)	356	2.60	660	653	.90
Women's College (1970)	445	2.85	641	631	.90

Ostensibly this may have had an effect of raising the performance of the Non STP male group after the first year making them more like the STP group thereby rendering the Pre STP different from the other two groups. It must be noted that comparison groups are composed of rather small numbers so that minor alterations in numbers may demonstrate a significant effect. The covariance technique is an analysis of variance which determines whether one or more treatment groups are significantly different from the total group. In Table 3, the Pre STP groups' performance was not significantly different from the total after the first semester but after the first year their performance was different (Table 6) probably due to attrition of several members of the Non STP group. One can see how the annoying problem of attrition renders the interpretation of performance studies difficult. Thus the only justifiable conclusion is that there was no significant difference in first year academic performance between STP survivors and Non STP survivors for whom complete data were available. There was a significant difference in performance between the contemporary black groups and the Pre STP groups which paralleled a general rise in freshmen academic performance in Trinity and Women's College.

Stage 4. Persistence at Duke through the 3rd Semester

One of the important criteria for adjustment to the college milieu is whether an individual continues to make normal progress toward a degree at Duke. Thus if a student drops out for either academic or for other reasons, he is assumed not to be making normal progress. Normal progress was defined in terms of whether a subject completed the third semester of college work in three semesters. The 1971 class was omitted from the analyses. The Chi square statistic was employed to determine whether the relative percentages of dropouts and persisters differed significantly among the treatment groups. The results of the analyses are shown in Table 8.

The results of the analyses indicated that there were significant differences in the attrition rate among the treatment groups for both males and females. Further analyses were conducted to determine whether there were significant differences between retention rate of pairs of groups. In the male

TABLE 8

Attrition Rate Analysis of Males and Females Through the Third Semester with 1971 Freshman Class Omitted

Group	Males					Females				
	Persisters		Dropouts			Persisters		Dropouts		
	n	%	n	%		n	%	n	%	
STP	17	89	2	11		24	96	1	4	
NONSTP	5	45	6	55	$X^2 = 18.35^{**}$	8	73	3	27	$X^2 = 5.99^{*}$
PRESTP	43	93	3	7		21	95	1	5	

*p < .05.
**p < .01.

groups, the attrition rate of the STP group differed significantly from the Non STP group (Chi-square = 8.73, p<.01) when Yates correction formula for small frequencies was applied for 1 degree of freedom. There was also a significant difference in dropout rate between the Non STP male group and the Pre STP males but no difference in attrition rate between the STP and Pre STP males. There were no significant differences in attrition rate between pairs of female groups when Yates correction formula for small frequencies was applied. Therefore, because small frequencies in the dropout column of the women's group were so small, the results were considered to be inconclusive.

Before the above results can be accepted as unequivocal evidence that participation in STP has any causal relationship with persistence in college, the different categories must be examined to determine whether the differences between attrition rate of treatment groups could be related to either academic aptitude or possibly motivational factors as indicated by high school rank. Table 9 presents tests of significance between persisters and dropouts with respect to academic aptitude and high school rank.

TABLE 9

Mean SAT Scores and High School Rank Percentiles for Persisters and Dropouts With 1971 Freshman Class Omitted

Group	Males				Females			
	n	SATV	SATM	HSR	n	SATV	SATM	HSR
Persisters	65	498	545	.91	53	537	524	.95
Dropouts	11	508	563	.79	5	517	523	.83
t-ratio		n.s.	n.s.	2.92*		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

*p <05

The results of the analyses of the data in Table 9 indicated that high school rank percentiles differed significantly between male persisters and dropouts. Therefore high school rank as an indicator of motivation is concluded to be a significant factor in whether black males persist in college. The difference in high school rank percentiles of female persisters and dropouts was also of rather high magnitude, although, because of the small population of female dropouts, the difference was statistically insignificant. There were no differences, statistical or "operational," in academic aptitude between persisters and dropouts for either males or females. The term operational infers that the difference in academic aptitude scores between groups did not exceed the standard error of measure of the instruments.

Since high school rank is a factor in attrition rate, treatment groups were compared on this dimension to determine whether the attrition rate of a treatment group could be attributed to an imbalance of subjects with low "motivation." Table 10 presents comparisons of academic aptitude and "motivation" among the treatment groups.

TABLE 10

Mean SAT Scores and High School Rank Percentiles Among Treatment Groups with 1971 Freshman Class Omitted

	Males				Females			
Group	n	SATV	SATM	HSR	n	SATV	SATM	HSR
STP	**19**	**476**	**535**	**.86**	**24**[a]	**511**	**523**	**.97**
NONSTP	**11**	**509**	**561**	**.83**	**11**	**539**	**530**	**.79**
PRESTP	**46**	**507**	**549**	**.93**	**22**	**560**	**523**	**.98**
F-4atio		**n.s.**	**n.s.**	**3.33****		**3.57****	**n.s.**	**7.00****

**$p < .01$.

[a] records not available for 1 subject.

The results of the analysis of the data in Table 10 indicated that high school rank differed significantly among male treatment groups. There was however no significant difference between the HSR's of the STP and Non STP groups. Therefore the STP and Non STP groups were concluded to be the same with regard to academic aptitude and "motivation." The differences in attrition rate between STP males and Non STP males then could not be attributed to the intervention of motivational characteristics of their respective memberships. The STP was then concluded to invoke a significant impact on commitment of males to remain at Duke through the third semester.

The female treatment groups (Table 10) differed significantly with respect to SATV scores and high school rank percentiles. It is of interest to

TABLE 11

Persistence Rate for Trinity and Women's College Through the Third Semester

Group	Rate of Persistence
Trinity 1970	**84.9**
Trinity 1967	**84.6**
Women's College 1970	**89.6**
Women's College 1967	**86.8**

note that there was a significant difference in HSR between females who elected to attend STP and those who did not. Attendance in the STP appears to be a reflection of their academic motivation.

The persistence rates through the third semester of the freshman classes of 1967 and 1970 of Trinity and Women's Colleges are presented in Table 11 to provide information with which to compare the attrition rates of black students (Table 8) with Duke students in general. Again the persistence rates of 1967 and 1970 years were presented because they represent mid-years in the respective treatment groups. The persistence rate of STP and Pre STP males and females are higher than comparable sex and year groups for Trinity and Women's Colleges. The persistence rate of Non STP males and Non STP females is lower than comparable groups of Trinity and Women's Colleges. Further follow-up analyses including the 1971 groups next year would appear to be fruitful to establish greater numbers in some categories. Nevertheless the results of the attrition study thus far appear to be extremely encouraging. The STP seems to have had a significant impact on academic commitment of male participants.

Discussion

The results of the analyses suggest that some skill development does take place during the course of the STP. However, this development does not appear to transfer to higher academic performance when the performance of STP groups is compared to Non STP groups (i.e. students who were invited to the program but chose not to attend). There were differences in performance between students, both male and female, who matriculated between 1965 and 1968 and those who matriculated later. However, these differences parallel a general college improvement in freshman performance during the past six years. Therefore, participation in STP does not appear to be associated with improved academic performance. However, the results of the attrition study indicated that males who attended the STP manifested a significantly higher rate of persistence in college through the third semester than males who chose not to attend after ability and motivation were taken into account. The influence of STP participation with females is equivocal given the differences in "motivation" among the

groups and the general paucity of female dropouts in general. Attendance in the STP for black women appears to be a manifestation of interest and commitment to succeed in college.

The STP appears, from both the data presented and general observations of the 1971 program by the present investigator, to be an important social experience for both the participants and the black community at Duke and in Durham. The STP seems to exist as a symbol of recognition and pride for the black community as well as a manifestation of concern by the white community. The academic activities in the program as well as the social and recreation activities appear to function as group tasks from which an *esprit de corps* develops among the participants. These activities also allow for the free expression of ideas and feelings which further foster a community feeling. The STP also offers an opportunity for black advisors and instructors to better identify students who may be likely to encounter difficulty. Furthermore the STP may serve an important recruiting function with which to induce talented black students to enroll at Duke.

While participation in the STP may not be significantly associated with increased academic performance it may well provide an experience for a nucleus of black students from whom classroom skills are disseminated to peers who elected not to attend thus abrogating any differences in performance between those who attended and those who elected not to attend. However, this proposal raises the question as to why attrition rates are not similar between those who attend and those who choose not to attend. Perhaps classroom skills are more readily learned than the inculcation of an attitude of commitment in the face of discouragement and adversity. Nevertheless, from the empirical evidence presented the STP may likely provide a set of experiences from which black students develop an awareness of the stresses and challenges facing them as a minority group in a predominantly upper middle class white culture. At the same time the STP exists as a reminder to black students already enrolled of that commitment and that they are not forgotten.

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Observations

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An observer of higher education attendance patterns quickly becomes aware that blacks and other minorities are underrepresented within the enrollment counts of colleges and universities. In 1970, for example, only 16 percent of the blacks in the age group 18-24 was enrolled. Among whites, 27 percent of the same age group was enrolled. By 1970, about 17 percent of the blacks 25-29 years old had at least one year of college. Approximately 33 percent of whites in that age group had completed at least one year of college. About six percent of all blacks 25 to 34 years old, and about 17 percent of the whites, had completed four or more years of college by 1970.[1]

In recent years many of the nation's colleges and universities have initiated special efforts to attract black students in greater numbers. In view of the national commitment to the principle of equal opportunity in higher education, it is quite clear that greater efforts and substantially more resources will be required in the attempt to increase the proportion of blacks in higher education and the number completing college and university study.

This challenge is particularly crucial in the South, where blacks comprise about 19 percent of the population. The black colleges and universities have provided the traditional opportunities in higher education for this ethnic group. Until recently, these institutions—almost all of which are in the South—enrolled the substantial majority of all blacks pursuing higher education throughout the nation.

With the broadening of opportunities to include access to other types of institutions, considerations have emerged which have direct bearing on colleges and universities with little or no prior experiences in the education

[1] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1970," *Special Studies*, BLS Report No. 394, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 38, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970.

of blacks. These considerations include the use of measures of academic ability or promise, the quality and extent of prior formal education, student financial support needs, institution type (public/private; open/selective), student motivation, and ethnic identity.[2] As indicated in *The College and Cultural Diversity*, many historically white colleges and universities in the South have developed approaches designed to expand higher educational opportunities for black students. The approaches include efforts relating to student recruitment, instructional programs, counseling and other support services, and aspects of student life.[3]

Adjustments become necessary as these historically white institutions open their doors and solicit the enrollment of black students. Quite often the adjustments are not easily made. However, the process on some campuses has led to the refinement or reinterpretation of basic institutional goals and objectives. The Summer Transitional Program conducted by Duke University since 1969 has revealed significant factors related directly to institutional response to several of these important considerations.

The first factor is the clear commitment which undergirded the effort of establishing contact with and assisting black students admitted to the university. Stimulated by the group efforts of Duke's black undergraduates, and supported by the Undergraduate Faculty Council, the STP serves as a response to the need for facilitating the adjustment of black students to the historically white campus milieu. The concern of the black students for increasing their number and expanding the black presence should not be surprising. As Edmund W. Gordon has indicated:

> . . . For a long time many of us have suspected that there are noncognitive factors that are significantly associated with achievement in any sphere and particularly in higher education. Increasingly, it appears that those students who find in their college experiences islands of cultural, ethnic, or political identity and strength, also find the college experience more acceptable and tend to show patterns of lower attrition. The emergence of the black cultural center, of patterns of residential assignment that maintain cultural solidarity . . . and of political and social-oriented ethnic organizations are neither accidental nor incidental developments on the college scene . . . We have not been sufficiently sensitive to the social-psychological burden carried by the isolated minority group student who is constantly called upon to be the example, the representative, the interpreter of his culture . . . We have given insufficient attention to the possible deleterious effects such pressures have on the total development of these young people. . . .
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> It is not easy for an institution to react wisely to movements toward cultural nationalism. There are many pitfalls. While students

[2] Fred W. Crossland, *Minority Access to College*. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971.

[3] Southern Regional Education Board, *The College and Cultural Diversity*. Atlanta: SREB, 1971.

> from minority groups need to be able to identify with others of similar cultural backgrounds, at the same time there is a need for them to mingle with a variety of other students, and to act within the larger group freely and significantly. The institution must do its part to maintain this delicate balance of social interaction. . . .[4]

A second factor incorporated within the Summer Transitional Program has been the acceptance by the university of the challenge to formulate a transitional experience design, subject the program to assessment, and alter the design from summer to summer in response to reassessment and to evolving conditions. When responsibilities are accepted for providing new opportunities to distinctive segments of the student population, the college or university must include in that acceptance a program structure to enhance student potential. Orientation to the broad cultural and social aspects of campus life, academic expectations, and the general ethos of the institutional setting is recognized as an important obligation the institution has toward its students. The experience gained by the STP participants provided useful feedback which led to alterations that were projected as improvements within the program.

The Summer Transitional Program also reflected the ability of the university to call upon individuals acclimatized to the Duke environment to assume the leadership of this special effort. Organized initially with a white professor as director and a black graduate student as assistant director, the program administration has evolved to black leadership. The assistant director in 1969 became associate director in 1970, co-director in 1971, and serves as director for the 1972 Summer Transitional Program. With both black and white program leadership, the STP was able to incorporate practical elements reflective of cultural sensitivities and attuned to the stated needs of black students. An obvious consideration of the STP staff—which included several advanced undergraduates and faculty—was the transmittal of their mutual concern for the adjustment of black students at Duke to others in the university community, many of whom relate to those new students only occasionally and perhaps indirectly. The desire to have sensitivities and understandings regarding the black presence permeate the campus structure reinforced the need of viewing attitudinal change within the context of institutional goals and objectives.

Yet another factor is the recognition that Duke is committed to provide continuing support for its students in the transition from previous experience grounds to university pursuits. The transition program framework includes the promotion of a readiness outlook for what Duke University offers and requires in its academic program, receptivity for special supports provided for all students, and the facilitation of group identity development.

The analyses performed by those directly and closely affiliated with the program and by others who have participated in evaluation emphasize both

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[4] Edmund W. Gordon, "Programs and Practices for Minority Group Youth in Higher Education," *Barriers to Higher Education*. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971, pp. 116-117.

the institutional and the individual adjustment aspect of the transitional program. It should be recognized that the program was conceived under pressure, revised on the basis of subjective judgments by those intimately involved in its operation, and periodically endorsed by the leadership of the university. It appears that it is this perceptible institutional assurance, combined with student experiences gained through relationship with peers and program staff, which verifies the symbolic nature of the program and the distinct visibility of the Duke University acknowledgement of and response to particular needs of black students. An objective at hand is to enlarge upon these experiences through continuing intercommunication and activities designed to encourage the success of black students at Duke University.